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ABSTRACT

This booklet outlines the content and activities of two workshops aimed at improving the teaching of children who speak Black English. Its goals are to supplement research reports on test development in the area of Black English and to serve as a useful starting point for those who rely on the workshop format to inform teachers about Black English and dialect variation. The first workshop outlined acquaints teachers with the development and characteristics of varieties of Black English and discusses procedures for administering and interpreting tests of students' oral language competence in one or more speech varieties. The second workshop outlined concentrates on varying communication styles, black community attitudes toward the use of different Black English speech varieties, and the characteristics of schools where black pupils perform successfully. (RL)

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TEACHER TRAINING WORKSHOPS ON BLACK ENGLISH AND LANGUAGE ARTS TEACHING

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Foreword

During the past five years the Program on Teaching and Linguistic Pluralism of the Center for Educational Research at Stanford (formerly the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching) has been engaged in developing tests related to the use of Black English in the schools. These tests included tests designed to measure the degree of pupuls' dominance in Black Standard English or Black Vernacular English, attitude measures to determine teachers' and pupils' attitudes toward the use of different varieties of Black English, teacher test measuring knowledge of the history and structure of Black English, and tests measuring knowledge of methods for teaching reading to speakers of Black English. Our primary purpose in developing the tests has been to help teachers better understand, instruct, and evaluate their Black-English-speaking students.

The data used in developing the tests were gathered in cooperating school districts within a two-session workshop format. The two sessions typically lasted two to two and a half hours each and were separated by a two-to-three-week interval. During the first session, teacher attitude measures and/or the Black English tests for teachers were administered. In the interval between the workshops, participating teachers administered pupil tests (the Black English tests for students and/or attitude measures) in their classes. In the second session, the teachers returned the data gathered in their classrooms to the researchers and took the teacher tests again. The purpose of the retake, or posttest, was, of course, to determine the possible effects of the workshops and/or experience with the pupil tests on teachers attitudes toward Black English or their knowledge about it.

The results of the tests have been described in reports from the Program on Teaching and Linguistic Pluralism. None of these reports, however, contains a detailed description of just what happened in the teacher workshops. It is this shortcoming of the reports issued so far that this paper is designed to remedy.

Its publication thus serves the following purposes: it describes the "workshop treatment" used in the Center's research on Black English; and it provides a possible model for teacher workshops dealing with Black English or other sociolinguistic phenomena judged to be important for teachers and schools. In writing this paper, the authors have not attempted to rewrite history in the light of experience but have attempted to report as accurately as possible the content of each workshop session and to include in their narrative the main bibliographical sources on which the workshop presentations were based.

We hope that this brief outline of workshop content and activities will supplement our research reports on test development in the area of Black English and that it will serve as a useful starting point for those who rely on the workshop format to inform teachers about Black English and dialect variation.

R. L. Politzer, Director
Program on Teaching and
Linguistic Pluralism

TEACHER TRAINING WORKSHOPS ON BLACK ENGLISH AND LANGUAGE ARTS TEACHING

Shirley A. R. Lewis and Mary R. Hoover

We have conducted workshops for teachers in schools in several cities throughout the United States with the aim of indirectly improving the teaching of Black-English-speaking children. We designed a two-part workshop: the first acquaints teachers with the development and characteristics of varieties of Black English and teaches them procedures for administering and interpreting tests of students' oral language competence in one or more speech varieties; the second concentrates on varying communication styles, Black community attitudes toward the use of different Black English speech varieties, and the characteristics of schools where Black pupils perform successfully.

The First Workshop

The first workshop has two primary objectives: to give the teachers information about Black English and its speakers and to acquaint them with procedures for administering and interpreting tests of students' oral language competence.

The workshop leaders begin by introducing themselves to participating teachers. Then they summarize the workshop agenda, deliberately keeping their presentation brief to avoid influencing teacher performance on the pretests that follow. The tests generate an atmosphere of high motivation and interest. Most teachers are eager to discuss the tests and to find

out if they chose the "correct" answers. Because the workshop leaders follow the format of one of the teacher tests in providing information on the history and structure of Black English and on related teacher behaviors and attitudes, the teachers can satisfy their curiosity about the questions on the tests as the workshop progresses. Their active participation is encouraged throughout the workshop. They are asked to give examples, make suggestions, and reach conclusions.

What is "Standard English?"

Teachers first discuss the meaning of the term "standard English" and decide upon the names of some well-known people they think speak standard English. Teachers almost always give the names of prominent people who are actors, politicians, and national newscasters. The workshop leader writes these names on the board and then asks the teachers to identify any characteristics which those people have in common. The group concludes, after some discussion, that most of the people on the list are White, enjoy some kind of high status, and are not from the South. Teachers are then asked to decide what kinds of people are not represented on the standard English list and to think about what is implied by their omission. Teachers quickly point out that Blacks, Southerners, and other historically powerless people do not appear on the list. Through omission these people are categorized as being speakers of nonstandard English. Some teachers extend this thinking one step further by pointing out that speakers of nonstandard English are frequently considered nonstandard, inferior people.

Teachers examine the concept of standarness more thoroughly by participating in the following exercise (adapted from Allen, 1972). The teachers

are asked to read the following sentences, to classify them as standard or nonstandard English, and to point out the features that lead them to classify certain sentences as nonstandard or otherwise unacceptable.

1. Don't nobody want no boiled eggs.
2. He real nice.
3. She say Willie crazy.
4. Ask her can she come outside.
5. Neither Benjamin Franklin nor Patrick Henry nor Daniel Boone were U. S. Presidents.
6. John and William are very good readers, but William is the best.
7. It is better for me to read today, to rest or to go to the movies?

All of the above sentences, if analyzed strictly according to the rules of standard grammar, are nonstandard. Many teachers quickly note that some of them contain features that are routinely attributed to some varieties of Black English and to some other vernacular speech varieties, while others contain errors that are made across class, regional, and cultural boundaries. This exercise emphasizes a fact that the workshop leaders hope to make clear--namely, that certain grammatical and phonological deviations from standard grammar are associated with socio-cultural classes.

The workshop leader then gives several definitions of standard English but makes sure to include the following two, which underline the arbitrariness of grammatical rules:

> Standard English is that form of American English which is accepted informally as standard...by those members of our society who are in a position to enforce their judgments on others...i.e., school teachers and

employers (Fasold, 1972).

> A standard language is a dialect backed by an army and a navy (Joos, 1961).

What is Nonstandard or Vernacular English?

The discussion of Standard English leads naturally to a more thorough consideration of nonstandard English. The teachers are asked to discuss further the implications of using the term "nonstandard" to describe language. Usually they find reason to reject the term for its connotations of incorrectness and inferiority. The workshop leader points out that the narrow definition of the term "standard English" leaves all other speech varieties, no matter how different, grouped together as nonstandard. The workshop leader presents the term "vernacular" as an alternative label for nonstandard speech. It has fewer negative connotations and provides a linguistically accurate classification for many speech varieties including Vernacular Black English. The leader gives a summary statement on vernacular English:

> ...the one or more dialects spoken by the group or groups which do not control wealth and power...(which) by definition represent an economically based problem (Kaplan, 1979, pp. 86, 165).

What is Black English?

Teachers are asked whether they are familiar with the term "Black English," and if so, to give some examples of Black English or to name some well-known people who speak this speech variety. This request elicits a wide variety of responses. Some teachers give grammatical examples such as "I ain't got no pencil;" others give phonological examples such as

"fo' men" ("four men"); while still others give combinations of both such as "She got seben cent" ("She has seven cents"). The teachers also give lexical examples such as "right on," "flooding," and "bad." Frequently named Black English speakers are Jimmy Walker, O.J. Simpson, Martin Luther King, and actors in television commercials (for instance, the man who threatens to "bust" the nose of anyone who does not like his brand of beer).

The workshop leader shows teachers how their examples differ in terms of selected linguistic features, classifies the examples into three categories--grammatical, phonological, and lexical--and explains these terms. The leader also points out how the various personalities cited use different kinds of speech forms.

The leader then asks teachers if they can describe, beyond the features already mentioned, what identifies certain speech as Black speech. Responses vary from workshop to workshop, but sometimes tone will be suggested as an identifying characteristic. If not, the workshop leader asks teachers whether they think that tone, or a certain way of saying things, identifies the cultural or ethnic background of the speaker. Some teachers will usually agree that tone or something to do with tonality communicates Black speech regardless of whether other characteristic features are present.

The workshop leader introduces the concept of varieties within Black English. Even from the examples of Black speech selected by teachers, it can be seen that Black English is not monolithic. Just as non-Black people speak several different varieties of English, so do Black people. Three of the common varieties of Black English are then described: Vernacular Black English, Standard Black English, and Network English

spoken by Blacks.

Vernacular Black English

The workshop leader reminds participants that the term "vernacular" should be used to describe this speech variety, as it holds the least, if any, negative connotations. Vernacular Black English is identified as the speech variety to which most people are referring when they say Black English or nonstandard English. VBE contains characteristics of traditional Black grammar and phonology (including intonation) as well as vocabulary, and it is especially distinguished by some features believed by many to be used almost exclusively by Blacks (Bartley & Politzer, 1972; Stewart, 1969; Wolfram, Williams, & Taylor, 1975). The workshop leader describes some of the most consistently cited and salient grammatical and phonological features of VBE.

1. Surface deletion of copula: Henry running/ We tired/ She a girl. In VBE, the conjugated form of the verb "to be" ("am," "are," "is") may be deleted when it is followed by an -ing verb in forming the progressive tense or by a predicate adjective, adverb, or noun in present tense constructions.

2. Invariant "be": We be playing ball/ They be hitting us. VBE has an invariant use of "be" which does not vary with the subject and which expresses aspects such as habitual action.

3. Multiple negation: Don't nobody know this/ They didn't give us none/ Don't nobody want no red pencils.

For a complete description of the features of Vernacular Black English, teachers are referred to (Hoover, et al., 1976).

The workshop leader asks teachers to look over the list of features attributed to Vernacular Black English and to decide whether they are used nearly exclusively by Black people or whether some are shared by speakers

of other varieties of English. Teachers identify several features they believe are used by speakers of other speech varieties, such as using "got" to indicate possession or redundant comparative.

The workshop leader distributes a list of vernacular English characteristics (Wolfram, Williams, & Taylor, 1975) that classifies certain speech variety characteristics by the sociocultural and regional labels Black Nonstandard, Southern Nonstandard, Southern Standard, or some combination of the three. This list is used to show that Black speech and other varieties of Southern speech have many characteristics in common. Teachers are asked to note that while Southern speech would be considered standard in the South, it might be rated nonstandard in other parts of the country.

To emphasize the importance of realizing that VBE is not composed of isolated, exclusively Black features, the workshop leader describes a study carried out in the South among formally educated Whites (Williamson, 1971). In one instance, subjects were asked to tell how many meals they would have eaten altogether if they had eaten the first meal of the day today, the first meal of the day yesterday, the same the day before yesterday, and the same the day before that. The answer, of course, was "four breakfasts." Apparently in the belief that they were being tested on their pronunciation of the final r in "four," most of the subjects replied with an exaggerated, superstandard "fourrrr." They gave, however, their natural pronunciation of the target word, breakfasts, which was being examined for reduction of the final consonant cluster, usually described as a VBE characteristic. One-third of the subjects gave the standard dictionary pronunciation "breakfasts;" one-third pronounced the word "breakfuss," thereby duplicating a consonant cluster characteristic

attributed to VBE; and the final third uttered "breakfusses," a hypercorrection characteristic also attributed to VBE. This example clearly shows that VBE characteristics may also be present in Southern varieties of English.

How did Vernacular Black English Develop?

The workshop leader begins a discussion on the origins of Black English by asking teachers if they have any ideas about how Black English developed. Some teachers identify the slave period as having some relation to this speech variety, while others point to the English of the slave owners as the primary source. The workshop leader briefly describes several early explanations such as the physical deficit theory, which held that VBE speakers had underdeveloped speech organs, and the intellectual deficit theory which viewed Blacks as "childlike" in their thought processes, behavior, and speech. The workshop leader then presents two more current and reasonable theories about the origins of Black English--African influence and British Isles influence. These theories, as presented on the workshop, are briefly described below.

According to the theory of the African origins of Black English, West Africans and Europeans came into contact through the slave trade. A means of minimal communication between the two groups developed using the most basic elements of both languages. This process, called pidginization, created a language that continued to serve as a form of communication for Africans in the New World. Since slaves belonged to many different tribes and spoke different languages, they used pidgin to communicate with the slave owners and among themselves. Some scholars contend that because

many West African languages have similar structures and lexicons. the English that the slaves learned was processed through a mutual linguistic system and ultimately developed into a Vernacular Black English speech variety that exists even today. As subsequent generations of slaves learned this pidginized variety of English, it became the first language of African offspring born in the New World. This process, called creolization, added other features of English to transform the pidgin into a full-fledged language, called a creole. As Afro-Americans came into more direct contact with the dominant Anglo culture, gained greater access to formal education, and acquired stronger motivation for using Vernacular English less frequently, the creole began to lose some of its African features, exhibiting the process called decreolization.

Support for the Africanized (creolized) English origins of VBE can be gleaned from analysis of some West African languages. Some of the vocabulary currently used by Black and non-Black Southerners can be traced back to West Africa (Dalby, 1972; Turner, 1969). Among the examples are direct loan words such as "banana" and "yam;" "translation" words such as "day clean" for "dawn;" and convergencies such as "massa," a combination of the English "master" and the Mandingo "massa."

The workshop leader uses the tonal treatments of "uh huh" and "huh uh" as an example of African influence on Black English use of intonation by relating them to tonal patterns in a variety of West African languages (Dalby, 1972). The leader also cites studies of Black communication as it relates to African oral styles such as the call-and-response (Vaughn-Cooke, 1972), the Black preaching style (Mitchell, 1970), and intonation patterns (Tarone, 1973). Workshop leaders give some examples from present-day

African languages to illustrate structural similarities to Vernacular Black English (Welmers, 1973). Among them are:

1. Vowel Treatment: In many West African languages, most words end in vowels.

ɔ̀bɛ́	palm nuts	Fante
ɛ̀tó ìbá	two trees	Efik
nɔ̀ ǹgbè ámù	at that time	Igbo

2. Verb Tense: In some cases, verb tense is shown by context or by changes in initial or medial positions within a word but is not indicated by inflections at the ends of words.

óń ṣ́ísé	he is working	Yoruba
óń ṣ́ísé	he was working yesterday	Yoruba
é kɔ́dɛ̀p m̀ bòró	they bought bananas	Efik
é yédɛ̀p m̀ bòró	they'll buy bananas	Efik
ku bi	he came	Jukun
ku ri bi	he is coming	Jukun

3. Plurals: In many cases, plurality is shown either by context or additional words but not by inflections at the ends of words.

ì dúa	a tree	Fante
ǹ dúa	trees	Fante
ókéènyè	old man	Yoruba
ńdí ókéènyè	old men	Yoruba
ó túḿ mádù	one person	Efik
ògú ḿ mádù	twenty people	Efik

The workshop leader refers teachers back to the list of VBE characteristics (Wolfram, Williams, & Taylor, 1975) and relates these VBE features to examples from West African languages.

A second theory holds that some Vernacular Black English characteristics have resulted from the influence of British Isles speech. Some speakers of Early English did not inflect certain third-person singular verbs, used "done" as a past marker, and used "be" as a conjugated verb form. Since the closest and most consistent contact that slaves had with

Whites was with overseers and other plantation managers of Scottish and Irish origin, who undoubtedly used the above features in their speech, some scholars (McDavid & McDavid, 1971; Traugott, 1972) have concluded that VBE is a carry-over from this contact.

The workshop leader concludes this section by telling teachers that while the origins of Black English are difficult to "prove," VBE is undoubtedly a combination of African, British, and other influences, and not a product of some hypothetical Black deficiency.

Standard Black English.

The workshop leader acquaints teachers with the concept of a speech variety which can be recognized as both standard and Black. It is termed Standard Black English (SBE) and is defined as:

> ...characterized primarily by a standard syntax, plus a few Black syntactic elements...The remainder of Black Standard English may include varying degrees of Black vowel patterns, ethnically marked supra-segmental features, and Black lexical items (Taylor, 1971).

The leader explains that the speech of many Black persons who used standard grammar is still likely to be recognized as Black, especially by other Black persons. Many varieties of Standard English resemble SBE in terms of grammar but have different phonology. Although John F. Kennedy pronounced "Cuba" as "Cuber," and John Dean pronounced "probably" as "prolly," the speech of both was accepted as standard given their control of standard grammar--and also their membership in a high-status group. The SBE speaker also controls standard grammar while incorporating some aspects of Black phonology, especially intonation.

The workshop leader cites the experience shared by many Black people

who, on hearing a telephone operator say "what city, please" make a mental note that he or she is Black. Often this example is quickly corroborated by laughter and nodding of the heads by many Black teachers present. It is pointed out that since the operator has used a standard telephone company phrase and has not used any of the features readily attributed to Black speech, that speech which is both standard and Black does exist and that this is characterized most of all by intonation. Although Standard Black English is often equated with "educated" speech, it is actually spoken by persons of varying educational backgrounds.

The leader states that within the Black community the SBE speech variety has higher prestige. In a study of Black community attitudes toward varieties of Black English (Hoover, 1975), Black parents preferred SBE 86 percent of the time in contexts sampled whereas they accepted "Network English," that is, speech which bore no ethnically marked characteristics only 11 percent of the time.

Network English.

The workshop leader points out that there are Black persons whose speech is not easily identifiable as any variety of Black English, including SBE. Often, if asked to cite a case of such speech, teachers will name national or local newscasters. The workshop leader explains that there are a few people within every sociocultural group whose speech does not appear to be marked by regional or cultural markers. The group of persons who fit this category, including some Blacks, are aptly classified as speakers of "Network English" (NE). When compared with varieties of Black English, Network English has none of the phonological,

grammatical, or other features of Black English.

In the interest of showing the relationship between Vernacular Black English, Standard Black English, and Network English, the workshop leader places the following grid on the blackboard and explains the various categories.

	Phonology	Grammar	Vocabulary	Intonation
VBE	+	+	+	+
SBE	~	~	~	~
NE	-	-	-	-

\+ Contains vernacular features
\- Contains very few vernacular features
~ Contains vernacular features in varying degrees according to the situation

Participants are told that Black English is best described as existing along a continuum with speakers falling at several points along a VBE-SBE scale marked by at least the four categories of phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and intonation shown on the Black English grid.

Bidialectalism

The workshop leader presents the idea that bidialectalism is a desirable goal for Black English speakers--that it is beneficial and even necessary for Black people to be able to communicate in the most effective and productive speech variety in a given situation. The essence of bidialectalism includes knowing the VBE speech variety. Standard Black English might be used most effectively and most consistently in academic circles, on the job, when writing, or whenever else it is deemed beneficial to do so. On the other hand, there are times when it is both efficient and

effective to use VBE. Certain speech events can occur only in VBE, such as the expression "The Lord don't like ugly," the meaning of which cannot be expressed in standard English.

Variation

The workshop leader introduces the concept of variation. Teachers are asked to think about and give examples of the ways people change their speech and the conditions under which they do so. For example, the workshop leader asks teachers to give examples of ways in which they might give a morning greeting to someone. Most teachers select the phrase "good morning" as their typical or standard morning greeting. On further probing, however, they soon recognize that they use several other forms of greetings more routinely, such as "hello," "hi," "'morning," "you're up early," or giving a kiss. Discussion then centers on identifying the conditions under which these various greetings are used. It is soon recognized that a variety of factors dictates the choice of greeting including the recipient's age, relationship to the speaker, the setting, and the location.

Teachers are asked to consider variation as it relates to grammatical usage. They are asked whether they can give examples of conditions under which they or others might deliberately use "nonstandard" grammar. Some teachers point to television commercials and other advertisements such as the cigarette which "tastes good, like a cigarette should," or a more recent television soap commercial which shows a young man (presumably clean) who on being hugged by a beautiful woman utters the phrase, "I ain't crazy!" The workshop leader asks teachers if they can explain why media people might choose such nonstandard utterances. Rationales offered include as a

means to relate to ordinary people, to be more easily remembered, and more intimate.

The workshop leader asks the group to give some phonological examples of "nonstandard" speech. Sometimes participants cite television commercials which use speakers with southern or western "accents" or those who are Black, Latino, Asian, etc., who praise a product using standard grammar but who have "something" about their speech which identifies the ethnic group or culture. Teachers are then asked to decide whether that speech is standard or vernacular, usually resulting in some disagreement on classification. At this point, the workshop leader points out that differences in assessing speech can be settled by using the "Matrix of Cruciability," a rating scale developed by Wolfram (1970). This matrix rates a list of characteristics according to whether they are sharply (+) or gradiently (-) stratified, whether they fit a general (+) or non-general (-) rule, whether the feature is grammatical (+) or phonological (-), whether the usage is of general (+) or regional (-) significance, and whether the feature occurs frequently (+) or infrequently (-). The teachers are asked to rate some of the items on this list and to tell whether they agree with how the matrix assesses them. For example, third person singular s marker has significant plus (+) markers across all categories and is considered more significantly vernacular and unacceptable whereas i-e vowel variation such as pin/pen has minus (-) markers across all categories and is rated as insignificant by the matrix.

The workshop leader demonstrates other examples of phonological variation, for instance reduced forms like "Djuenjoyt?" and "Ya wanna go out?" Teachers are asked to speculate on who uses such speech and under what conditions. An experiment is cited (Labov, 1972) that showed how

pronunciation seems to be related to class status. In this case, a word list was presented to subjects belonging to different socioeconomic class groups. Correct pronunciations were scored by class with each higher class receiving a correspondingly higher score except for the highest two social classes. In this case, the second highest group scored higher than the top group, leading researchers to infer that the top group was more relaxed about their speech since they, in fact, were already at the top and that the second highest group was more careful perhaps since they, in fact, were almost but not quite at the top.

Participants are drawn from this general discussion of variation to consider whether and if so, how, variation might occur among speakers of Black English. Many teachers recognize that the same conditions which were discussed earlier apply to Black English speakers, namely, that factors such as setting, audience, and location would probably effect choice of language including VBE characteristics for some people. Some specific examples are that males might choose to speak differently to females; younger people might speak differently to older people; Blacks might choose to speak differently to non-Blacks. These conditions are more readily seen with lexical items than with grammatical or phonological ones. The workshop leader asks teachers to read the following brief monologue and to consider the treatment of plural s characteristic:

> I want to tell you, I got some jive friends. You know Sue? Well, we said we was gonna sell fruit pies at the street fair Saturday. Well, I couldn't do, so she said if I made half the pies, she would give me half the money. Well, she made ten dollars and guess what she gave me? Ninety cent. Yes, you heard me, nine dimes. Said she had overhead expenses. Ain't that a shame?

Discussion of the presence and absence of plural s in this story usually

includes deciding that the "s" was deliberately left off the word "cent" to add emphasis or humor to the statement, while in other cases the plural s was employed. Further discussion usually leads participants to conclude that Black English characteristics including grammar and phonology may be varied by choice.

Additional discussion is held on whether grammar and phonology are sometimes varied unconsciously. Most often teachers will respond affirmatively and cite responses made by their pupils. Some teachers will cite some of the characteristics contained on the VBE list as being used in variation. The workshop leader points out to teachers that speech variety variation on the part of pupils can play a very important part in performance in language arts activities.

Evaluating Students' Language

The workshop leader discusses the need for materials to assess fairly the language arts skills of VBE-speaking children. As noted above, the second main objective of the first workshop is to show teachers how to use such tests. The tests used in the workshop are the SCRDT Black English Tests for Students (Program on Teaching and Linguistic Pluralism, unpub.). These three tests--Discrimination, Production, and Repetition--were designed to measure the language ability of Black children by testing them in two speech varieties, namely, Vernacular Black English and Standard Black English.

The discrimination test assesses the student's ability to distinguish between specific grammatical features of VBE and of SBE. It contains 30 sentences, 15 in VBE and 15 in SBE. The 30 randomly distributed items are

played on a tape recorder and children label each response "school talk" (standard) or "playground talk" (vernacular) according to their judgment.

The production test consists of 15 items each in Vernacular Black English and Standard Black English. They are accompanied by pictures that serve as stimuli for student talk. A tape-recorded commentary is played for the pupils in each speech variety asking questions about the pictures. In the VBE version of the test, the student scores correctly if he or she responds in VBE; in the SBE version, the student scores correctly if he or she responds in SBE. This test may also be used to rate specific features of Vernacular or Standard English.

The repetition test measures the student's ability to repeat sentences containing specific grammatical features of Vernacular Black English and Standard Black English. The sentences to be repeated are based on two parallel tape-recorded stories (one in VBE, one in SBE), each containing 15 specific features that the student must repeat.

The first workshop ends when the teachers understand the purpose of the tests and have learned how to administer them. A break of approximately two weeks occurs before the second workshop is held. During this time teachers administer the student tests to their classes.

The Second Workshop

The workshop leader collects the student tests and then invites teacher comments and questions. Teachers often express enthusiasm at discovering the bidialectal abilities of their students, many of whom they had thought to be dominant in either Vernacular or Standard Black English rather than proficient in both. Many teachers also report that

their students enjoyed taking part in the project and were proud of their performance on the tests. After this discussion, the workshop leader briefly reviews information covered in the first workshop and then describes some other aspects of Black English.

"Communication Styles"

The workshop leader emphasizes that the complete description of a language must include more than its grammatical, phonological, and lexical elements. For example, communication styles, or speech events, constitute an important part of language. Black English speech events serve a variety of functions within the Black community, and decisions about when and how to use them are determined according to culturally based rules. Descriptions of five common Black speech events follow.

Marking is repeating or mimicking verbal and nonverbal features of a particular person's speaking to convey both the content and intent of a message (Mitchell-Kernan, 1971; Smith, 1974). The definition of marking is sometimes extended to include exaggeration of language and gesture to emphasize motive.

Signifying has been defined as reproaching, taunting, or otherwise inciting another person (Mitchell-Kernan, 1971; Smith, 1974). Included in this broad category are events such as capping, the dozens, sounding, and woofing.

Call-and-response is an orator-audience style used in religious as well as non-secular events (Smith, 1974; Vaughn-Cooke, 1972). In this communication style the audience joins in by commenting, encouraging, and otherwise rewarding the speaker for a successful delivery.

Rapping is using language in an artful way to obtain a goal, to make an impression, and, in general, to "dazzle someone with conversation" (Smith, 1974, p. 174).

Copping a plea is using verbal skill to avoid punishment or censure (Kochman, 1972; Smith, 1974). This style may be used in serious encounters with authority figures and in humorous conversations with friends.

The workshop leader concludes this section by stressing that there are only a few of many Black speech events. Teachers are reminded that use of these communication styles can have important implications in the school setting. For example, some teachers might assess a marking event more negatively than the speaker actually intended it to be, while others might not realize that in a given situation plea copping event expresses more humor than defiance.

What Is Nonverbal Communication?

The workshop leader asks the teachers to give examples of how messages can be conveyed without using words. Teachers usually mention facial expressions, such as frowns and smiles; noisemaking events, such as rapping on a desk or ringing a bell; and physical contact, such as patting, shaking hands, and embracing. The workshop leader writes some examples on the board and shows the teachers that most nonverbal events can be classified into one of several categories. The workshop leader describes six of these categories and identifies possible sources of conflict among cultural groups that are due to differences in definitions of acceptable behavior. The terms for these categories of behavior are taken from Taylor and Stoller (1975).

Communication by eye contact (oculesics). In our society, people who seem to avoid looking at others directly in the eye may be regarded as dishonest or suspicious. In many cultures, however, direct eye contact is considered disrespectful or rude, and in some communication styles speakers look away from each other during the preliminary part of the conversation and establish direct eye contact only once the main point is reached.

Communication by projection of personality and background (objectics). People may express personality or cultural background through their choice of apparel (clothing, accessories); body adornment (makeup, tatoos); and room arrangement (furniture, decorations). Individuals with varying cultural and/or personal perspectives may react differently to each other's selection of objectics. The physical set-up of a classroom, for instance, may be suitable for certain students but not for others. Some may feel more involved when sitting in a circle rather than in the vertical-horizontal desk lineup that is so common in classrooms. Teachers are asked to suggest other physical factors in the classroom that could be changed to provide a more appropriate and comfortable environment for a culturally pluralistic class.

Communication by physical expression (kinesics). Gestures, posture, and type of walk all belong in this category. While people from many different cultures use physical expression to convey meaning, the same expression may have widely divergent implications from culture to culture. One such example is the "manly" walk often assumed by young Black males. In the local Black culture, such a walk may merely convey that a young man has joined a certain age group. Outside the Black community, this

same walking style has been interpreted to signal aggressive, antisocial behavior. Familiarity with the meaning of kinesics in different cultures will increase the likelihood of fuiler communication and will decrease chances for confusion and misinterpretation.

Communication by touching (haptics). Touching conveys different messages in different cultural groups, and feelings about the appropriateness of touching under certain circumstances vary. In some cultural groups, for example, men shake hands when they meet and women do not. In other cases relatives and good friends are expected to greet each other with a kiss on the cheek, while this demonstration of affection is not acceptable coming from people outside the circle of intimates. Most Black people, like members of many other cultures, consider a pat on the head for anyone except very young children to be patronizing and in poor taste. As a general rule, many Blacks do not like teachers or others who are not family members or close friends to touch or examine their hair.

Communicating time (chronemics). Not all cultures have the same orientation toward time. Some cultural groups automatically expect events to start later than the announced time, and persons who arrive "in time" may be received with astonishment. The White middle class adheres to some definitions that are in concurrence with stated time and may view people who arrive "late" as undependable or underachieving.

Communication distances (proxemics). The preferred distance between speakers varies from culture to culture and from situation to situation. A conversation between two people from different cultural groups may prove

difficult when one of the speakers feels that the other is standing too close or too far away.

The workshop leader summarizes this section by emphasizing that nonverbal communication involves many factors and is just as important as verbal communication, and sometimes more important. Individuals who work with students from different sociocultural backgrounds can benefit greatly from being aware of the subtleties involved in communication. A more careful consideration of nonverbal language may lead to positive changes in the classroom.

Black Community Attitudes toward Black English

The workshop leader describes some of the Black community views about the appropriate use of Black English, since the rules of speaking in a community play a significant role in the communication process. These rules govern who speaks to whom about what, and when and how they speak (see Hymes, 1972; Joos, 1961) the form or style of the message, the message channel (speaking, writing, reading), and the message domain (e.g., home, school, playground).

A study of attitudes toward Black English (Hoover, 1975) showed that Black parents held definite preferences for using certain speech varieties under certain circumstances (following the concept of variation). The study found that these preferences varied according to domain, channel, degree of formality, and participants. Black parents accepted the use of Vernacular Black English (VBE) by their children in two domains--at home and in the community. VBE was preferred over Standard Black English (SBE) in informal situations, such as at parties with Black friends and for

telling proverbs or jokes. Although generally acceptable among intimates, use of VBE was not highly accepted at formal occasions when young people were speaking with their parents or with other older people.

Black parents tended to reject the use of VBE for reading and writing, especially at school. One exception to the selection of Standard Black English as the preferred speech variety for school use in every channel occurred when a near majority of the parents interviewed--42 percent--stated that they would accept the use of VBE in school during "free" or informal reading periods. Ninety-five percent of the parents wanted teachers to be required to take a course on Black English so that they would know that Black English has a history and is systematic and logical. The parents were adamant in stating that while teachers should know about Black English, they should not attempt to speak it. Many parents acknowledged that they would consider the use of Black English by teachers, specially non-Blacks, to be inappropriate and patronizing.

The workshop leader then discusses the meaning of the findings on Black parental attitudes toward Black English, pointing out that racism plays a serious, perhaps decisive, role in the formation of Black community attitudes toward the use of Black English in the schools. Many parents feel that Black English speech is stigmatized in White society because Black people are stigmatized.

Black parents and other community people indicated a high preference for the teaching of the "basics" in the schools (Hoover, 1975). When parents were asked to rate 15 subjects in terms of importance to their children's education, the top three choices were reading, self-pride, and math. Such choices may make clear why parents oppose the use of written VBE in the

classroom and why some parents in the survey expressed suspicion that any plan to use VBE materials in the schools is merely a "plot" to make money by exploiting Black children. After all, no one has recommended the creation of dialect materials for speakers of other speech varieties such as Italian-American, Jewish-American, or Appalachian-American English.

Characteristics of Schools Where Black Children Read at and above Sixth Grade Level

The workshop leader suggests that the preference of Black parents for "basics" programs in the schools reflects a desire to see their children be high achievers. The leader presents a characterization of some schools where Black-English-speaking children are high achievers as measured by standardized achievement tests. The leader points out that although these tests contain linguistic, cultural, and psychological biases (see Hoover, Politzer & Taylor, 1975; Hutchinson, 1972), they are the only measures currently in wide use. The workshop leader stresses that low achievement scores do not necessarily reflect low ability on the part of Black-English-speaking children, but that high scores may very well provide an indication of success. Test scores do facilitate a comparison of schools across the country, and a particular school's ranking can be an important measure of accountability for the community. The workshop leader reviews some of the literature on the makeup of schools where Black-English-speaking children are reading at or above grade level.

Research shows some similarities between schools where Black children are reading successfully. Among them are: the use of phonic linguistic reading method, alone or in conjunction with other reading methods; the

presence of positive expectations, that is, the belief that Black children can achieve; familiarity with and use of Black learning styles; adherence to orderliness and planning in the classroom; and the presence of a strong administrator (Chall, 1967; Cureton, 1973; Skailand, 1970; Thomas, 1976; Weber, 1970). Teachers discuss these characteristics, and the workshop leader refers them to some more in-depth treatments of this subject.

Workshop Evaluations

At the end of the workshop teachers submit anonymous evaluations of all aspects of the program, including the workshops, the student and teacher tests, and anything else about which they care to comment. Most evaluations are very positive. In general, the teachers enjoy listening to and learning about the different speech varieties of their children; they appreciate learning about the origins, logic, and usages of Black English; and they find that their new knowledge increases their appreciation of an interest in teaching language arts to VBE-speaking children.

The Black English Workshop for Teachers and related research appears to be a useful and informative training instrument for teachers of Black-English-speaking children.

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